

News- SOCIAL Letter ACTION

Vol. XII, No. 5



Indianapolis, Indiana

May, 1948

U.S. REPORTED BACKING OUT ON ARABIAN OIL

During World War II Arabian oil came into international prominence. It was important to the American army trucking military supplies from Persian Gulf ports to Russia, who was then our ally. It was important to the British as a source of supply for her Mediterranean fleet. The great pipeline from Kirkuk in Iraq to Haifa in Palestine played an important part in the stopping of Hitler's southward march. Since the war American oil companies have taken a great interest in Arabia as a source of future oil supply. Several large companies joined to form the Arabian-American Oil Company to exploit prospects in Saudi Arabia. This program has been a bonanza for King Ibn Saud, who collects millions in royalty each year. It has also given him a new oil city at Bahrein, plus a huge airport capable of handling the largest B-29 bombers. A constant stream of Americans come and go from his backward capital at Riyadh. Among the plans of Arabian-American has been a trans-Arabian pipeline. For months past the American people have been assured that the fate of our Navy is largely dependent upon its ability to get Arabian oil in event of the outbreak of war.

The April 19 issue of *New Republic* exposes the whole business. Arabian oil is no military asset to the United States. The exposure came about when Arabian-American applied to the Commerce Department for export license for 480,000 tons of steel for the pipeline. The Commerce Department's export-policy committee, before giving approval to the export of that much precious steel, demanded assurance from the Defense Department that the line could be defended in event of war. This guarantee the Defense forces refused to give. It came out that the Navy Petroleum Board had repeatedly told Congress that Middle East oil could not be counted on in event of trouble. Up to this point both Secretary Harriman (Commerce) and Secretary Forrestal (Defense) had been strong supporters of the Arabian-American project. But confronted with opposition within their own departments, plus the battle against the project by Senator Wherry's Small Business Subcommittee, they could do nothing but reverse their position.

The export-policy committee ruled against granting the license until further study is made and until Secretary Forrestal gives his approval. This places Forrestal squarely on the spot. If he continues to support his oil friends he does so against the advice of his own defense experts and in the face of warning that in event of war the investment cannot be defended.

In its ruling the export-license committee pointed out that 480,000 tons of steel put into tankers would constitute a mobile oil fleet that could be moved from place to place as needed, while the pipeline would constitute a liability that would require adequate defense along every foot of its length. The *New Republic* reports that Arabian-American will now ask for 52,000 tons to complete a short pipeline to the Persian Gulf.

Thus vanishes the myth that in event of war the American Navy would be completely dependent upon Middle East oil. The Standard Oil Company, in its house organ *The Lamp*, months ago declared that it has nearly 4000 billion barrels of oil reserves in the United States, enough to last "thousands of years."

CHURCH LEADERS PROTEST WAR DRIFT

James A. Crain

On April 6-7, one hundred and twenty-five Christian leaders from 20 states, representing 12 Protestant communions, gathered in Washington "to express our deep conviction that war with Russia is neither imminent nor inevitable." The meeting was under the chairmanship of Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, pastor of Christ Methodist Church, New York City. Other well known persons in attendance were Dr. E. T. Dahlberg, pastor of First Baptist Church, Rochester, N.Y., and president of the Northern Baptist Convention, Dr. John Paul Jones, of Brooklyn, N.Y., Dr. William G. Mather, Penn State College, Pa., Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, chairman of the American Section, Committee on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches. The group adopted the following statement:

"In recognition of the grave world situation we church people have come from twelve Protestant denominations and twenty states of the Union to Washington, D.C., on April 6 and 7, 1948, to express our deep conviction that war with Russia is neither imminent nor inevitable.

"1. *Avert War.* We call upon our national leaders to cease the effort to put the United States on a war-time basis. It is our conviction that as a nation we have failed to take all possible steps to avert war, to strengthen democracy, and to build peace.

"2. *Continue Negotiation.* Impelled by the faith that under God man may achieve a world of justice and peace, we urge the continuance of the policy of sincere and patient negotiation without threat of military force.

"3. *Peace Through United Nations.* We believe in principles and policies based upon the determination to achieve peace through the United Nations rather than upon diplomacy based on military might.

"4. *Defeat Selective Service and Universal Military Training.* We call for the defeat of Selective Service and Universal Military Training legislation, believing that they jeopardize the course of action which our nation must take to achieve peace. In case of military emergency it is our conviction that the armed forces can devise means of recruiting volunteers without departing from the democratic conditions of freedom.

"5. *Restore Civilian Leadership.* We want the policy-making powers of government restored to civilian leadership so that the United States will not be needlessly alerted to war measures.

"6. *Approve Recovery Program.* We approve the European Recovery Program and urge that it be administered for the resettlement of the people, for rehabilitation of normal economic processes, and for repair of war damage, without political coercion. We believe that it should not be tied in with the military program, but related so far as possible to the organized agencies of the United Nations. We are convinced that this policy, rather than our present one, is more likely to promote world peace and we commend Secretary Marshall's statement at Harvard in June, 1947, namely—"Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 2)

SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

Published monthly, except for joint July-August issue, by the Department of Social Welfare, The United Christian Missionary Society, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

Subscription price \$1.00 per year.

Entered as second class mail matter September 2, 1943, at Indianapolis, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The opinions and points of view expressed in this publication are those of the editors and do not necessarily represent the convictions of The United Christian Missionary Society.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Alternative to Futility, D. Elton Trueblood. Harper. \$1. With this book Dr. Trueblood completes a trilogy, the two preceding titles of which are, *The Predicament of Modern Man* and *Foundations for Reconstruction*. In many respects *Alternative to Futility* is the best of the three. Abstract Christianity is a fiction. There is no substitute for the redemptive society, for the "fellowship of the concerned" and the recovery of discipline. Trueblood offers concrete and constructive suggestions to any group of Christians which wants to begin the process of a redemptive society. A good textbook for study by a church board.

* * * *

The Christian Way in Race Relations, edited by William Stuart Nelson. Harper. \$2.50. A new and completely different approach to the issues involved in the problems of race and minority groups. Written by Negro leaders such as George D. Kelsey, Neal Hughley, Harry V. Richardson, Benjamin E. Mays, George Haynes, and Howard Thurman, the issues are approached primarily as human problems which affect all mankind, with application made to minority disabilities as a specialized aspect of the larger concern. If evidence were needed of the ability of the Negro race to produce individuals of intellectual maturity this book would prove the case. Its theology, economics and political science are unimpeachable. Its evaluation of agencies is candid but constructive and chapters by Howard Thurman and Richard McKinney on judgment and hope in the Christian message and in the nature of man and society leave the reader with faith that the Christian way in race relations can become a reality.

* * * *

Jim Crow America, Earl Conrad. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. \$3. This is a bitter book by the angry white manager of the famed Negro *Chicago Defender's* Harlem bureau. Beginning with the investigation of the rape of a Negro woman by six young white men in Alabama, Conrad runs the gamut of economic exploitation of the Negro, discrimination in education, unequal justice, misrepresentation in the press, restrictive covenants. He examines the theories of gradualism and immediacy as solutions for the race problems and comes to the conclusion that Jim Crow is at the crossroads. It is an angry book. But it is more than that. It is a sensible book that will open the eyes of white readers to evils that they have too long ignored.

ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

We Need Not Fight Russia, by Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the *New York Times*, and recognized expert on military affairs. *Saturday Evening Post*, April 3.

Moral Force in World Affairs, by John Foster Dulles, U.S. Delegate to United Nations Assembly. *Presbyterian Life*, April 10, 1948.

An Open Letter to Dr. Einstein, by four Soviet Scientists.

A Reply to the Soviet Scientists, by Dr. Einstein.

Soviet scientists challenge Einstein's stand on world government. Einstein answers. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February, 1948.

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

Robert A. Fangmeier

¶ *UMT-Selective Service*. The general trend in Washington is toward support of temporary re-enactment of Selective Service and a 70-group air force. The enlarged air force is regarded as an alternative to UMT. In the Senate a joint UMT-Selective Service bill may be reported to the floor for action by April 26. The House Rules Committee, however, has UMT bottled up and seems inclined to support a big air force instead. The House will also probably go along with a temporary draft, but no UMT. House opposition to a joint UMT-big air force bill may compel Senate leaders to introduce separate bills on UMT and Selective Service so as not to risk defeat on a joint bill.

Opponents of conscription are now concentrating their efforts to defeat revival of Selective Service. They point out that the Armed Services have not demonstrated their inability to secure adequate manpower through the volunteer method. The Air Force and the Navy testified that they did not need the draft. Only the Army Ground Forces claim that the volunteer system has failed. The authorized budgetary strength of the military establishment is now 1,517,000, of which the Army is allowed 669,000. They now have 550,000 men, showing a deficit of 119,000. Opponents of conscription say that the volunteer system would work if the Army would make the following changes:

1. Reduce the passing grade of the Army General Classification test from 80 to 70. It was 59 during the war.
2. Allow 18 months enlistments instead of the present three-year term.
3. Eliminate the 10 percent quota imposed on Negro enlistments and end segregation in the Armed Forces.

¶ *Crisis or Hysteria?* The President's speech to a joint session of Congress on March 17, was the start of the big push to secure enactment of peacetime conscription this spring. Most Washington observers now agree that the dramatic setting of the occasion was not justified by events abroad. The atmosphere of near-hysteria which gripped Washington immediately after the address created a favorable situation for quick enactment of a huge armament program. It should be noted that the President did not make these armament requests in his budget message in January. Instead, in his drive for a large military establishment, the President has spoon-fed Congress by not asking for his entire program at one time, but rather by piece-meal. The drive is now set for the passage of peacetime conscription and an increased military budget unless protests from constituents change the minds of members of Congress in the next few weeks. Thousands of letters, telegrams, telephone calls and personal visits from constituents have played a major part in blocking UMT up to now.

¶ *Conscientious Objectors*. The Senate version of the draft bill provides for "work of national importance under civilian direction," as in war-time. Improvements over the war-time bill include pay, dependency allotment and accident compensation. The House version of the bill defers conscientious objectors who are opposed to both combatant and non-combatant service. In other words, no CPS as the war-time law provided. Secretary Forrestal supported the idea of CO deferment in testimony before the House Armed Services Committee. A poll of Congressmen, however, indicates that deferment is not popular and will likely be stricken from the bill.

¶ *Liquor and Relief*. Miss Elizabeth Smart, legislative representative of the National WCTU, headed a delegation to see Rep. Jesse Wolcott to ask that a limit be placed on the amount of grain used for liquor. She urged that the President be authorized to limit the amount of grain allowed to liquor manufacturers as he did until a few months ago. The chance of re-imposition of such controls is not likely.

¶ *World Health Organization*. A bill to permit the United

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 2)

ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

Two Hundred and Fifty Bombs Will Do It. Two hundred and fifty atom bombs could not only knock the United States out of a war, but if exploded over a period of months or years, might produce killing effects throughout the world for years to come, Dr. Stafford Warren, former chief of the medical division of the Manhattan project, told the National Emergency Council on Medical Services in Chicago on April 6, according to a UP dispatch. Dr. Warren, who is now dean of the University of California medical school, said 250 atomic bombs exploded could set up an invisible layer of radioactive dust which might circle the earth several times before settling. "As it spread around the globe, the particles would drop slowly," he said. "No country would be spared this subtle poison. Water and food would be polluted. The poison then would be absorbed by human beings and animals through the digestive tract. Finally it would settle in the bones and continue to radiate the deadly rays. Death would come slowly . . . surely." A year ago Dr. Warren told a Los Angeles group that a radioactive cloud generated by the Bikini explosion had encircled the earth six times and was then (April) again over the North American continent and that flyers had been warned to stay below 17 thousand feet.

Military Logic. In a special article in the *Indianapolis Star* Sunday supplement of January 11, 1948, General H. H. (Hap) Arnold, retired U.S. Air Force chief, had this to say about war, "We won the last war. And it's the last war we'll ever win. If we have another war this nation will lose. We'll lose and the enemy we fight will lose, because victory in atomic warfare is no longer possible. One nation cannot defeat another nation today. That concept died with Hiroshima. War is like fire: you can prevent a fire or you can try to put it out, but you can't 'win' a fire, because fire is destruction. . . . So we must not, because we cannot, talk about waging a war with Russia. Even if we wiped out Russia, we would be wiped out in the process. War itself is defeat. We must talk about waging peace. . . ." Then with strange logic, General Arnold goes on for three columns to plead for (1) "balanced national defense," consisting of army, navy and air force; (2) "industrial preparedness," consisting of "pilot plants," stockpiles of machine tools, and preparation for war production; (3) a "reserve program," to enable Army, Navy and Air Force to expand rapidly "in the event of war," and—you guessed it!—Universal Military Training! Then the General reverts again to sanity and says in his closing paragraph, "We cannot win another war. Therefore, we must not fight another war. . . . We must work for peace as wholeheartedly, as we worked for victory."

Federal Aid to Sectarian Schools? For several years efforts have been made to secure legislation providing federal aid to education. Prominent in support of these efforts has been the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Recently the Taft Bill (S. 472) passed the Senate. A corresponding bill (H.R. 2953) is pending in the House. During debate in the Senate an effort was made by Senator Donnell (R. Mo.) to include an amendment making it "unmistakably explicit" that none of the federal funds should be used in support or benefit of non-public schools. Senator Taft fought down this amendment on the ground that the Supreme Court decisions allowed no aid to parochial schools, but only to individual pupils on the basis of public welfare, and saying that it is somewhat doubtful if federal funds, under the construction of this bill, could be used for such public welfare services as lunches, health, textbooks and bus fares. However, it is significant that there was vigorous opposition from Catholics to Senator Donnell's amendment. Senator McMahon (D. Conn.) presented an amendment specifically setting aside \$5,000,000 for such services. This amendment was defeated in the interest of "home rule," thus leaving the matter to the states, exactly where the Catholic hierarchy wants it.

ON THE RELIEF FRONT

Ruth D. Estes

The Christian people of America sent overseas through the channels of Church World Service, Inc., six million pounds of relief and reconstruction supplies during the first two months of the present year, valued at over \$3 million. A part of the shipment was \$45,000 worth of hymnals in Japanese for the Christians of that country. Theological libraries valued at \$30,000 went to pastors, theological students and religious leaders of China, Siam, Yugoslavia, Germany and Palestine. Needed equipment, such as typewriters, mimeographing machines and bicycles were sent to Protestant pastors in several countries to help them in reaching distant points in their parishes. One of the most significant shipments in this period was 17 prefabricated buildings valued at \$27,000, sent to Japan. Four will be used to house Japanese pastors and the remainder will replace churches and mission school buildings destroyed in the war.

Robbins W. Barstow, executive associate of Church World Service, Inc., who attended the annual meeting of Reconstruction Secretaries in Europe in March, reports that the total refugee picture is even more grim than a year ago. There are actually more refugees in continental Europe than last year and their needs are urgent in all respects. Material aid is still of vital importance in Central Europe. One common note from all areas is the necessity for quick help in strengthening the spiritual life of the people. This means more building repairs and replacements, the rehabilitation of pastors and the training of new leaders, both lay and clerical, provision for literature, transportation, and the like.

Some Ways Relief Goods are Used. Hilfswerk, the German Protestant relief agency, demonstrates the way relief goods are handled after they reach Europe. The keynote is self-help, with the agency multiplying the gifts received from other lands. By acquiring raw materials from which supplies are manufactured, Hilfswerk not only aids the people to supply their own needs, but helps to restore the whole German economy and morale. For example, grain from America is milled into flour. This not only furnishes bread to many thousands of people but also gives employment to a considerable number of persons. By-products are used for stock feeding. The same process is used with cotton and wool. A textile plant in Stuttgart processes raw cotton and wool supplied by Hilfswerk, turning out underclothing, blouses, and other excellent quality garments. The plant is operating at one-third capacity, due to raw material shortage. Hilfswerk also purchases cellulose and pulp which is manufactured into paper for the publication of Bibles and religious books. This agency is one of the Protestant organizations through which Church World Service channels gifts from American Christians.

An International Mother's Day. CROP (Christian Rural Overseas Program), a department of Church World Service, Inc., is calling upon American churches to make Mother's Day international in scope. It is proposed that May 9th (Mother's Day) be observed by keeping churches open to receive gifts of food and clothing for needy mothers and their families overseas. Gifts will be handled through Church World Service or Lutheran World Relief. Churches of the Disciples of Christ are urged to cooperate in this appeal. Gifts may be sent to the nearest Church World Service Center or to Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

Why Keep Sending Relief Since ERP is a Reality? Since the European Recovery Program has been voted and is now being put into operation, why should churches continue sending their gifts for relief?

1. Because gifts from Christian people distributed through church channels carry with them Christian love

(Continued on Page 4)

METHODIST WOMEN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

James A. Crain

On March 4, 1948, the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Southeastern Jurisdiction (the annual conferences of the Southeastern states) of the Methodist Church, in session at Orlando, Florida, adopted a resolution on human rights which should go a long way toward dispelling current misconceptions regarding the attitudes of Christian people in the South toward civil liberties. The Woman's Society of Christian Service is the official woman's organization of the Methodist Church and officially represents Methodist womanhood in the several jurisdictions of that communion. The resolution is as follows:

"As never before in our history, mankind is bound together in a shrunken world. The disorders of our segment affect the whole. The old and familiar are passing. The new is being born everywhere. The eyes of the whole world are focused with hope on the United States—a democracy with 60 million professed followers of Christ.

"We cannot fail to lead the way in securing human rights for the peoples of the world, including all people within our borders. The basic Christian faith which we profess will let us do no less. The democracy which preaches equality for all men must be demonstrated in action.

"As Christian women of the Methodist Church in the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service we call ourselves, and the vast constituency from which we come, to repentance for our sins and a renewal of our commitment to the task of making Christian principles live in this nation.

"Therefore, as specific and immediate steps in this direction, we recommend the following:

"1. That Methodist women acquaint themselves with the content and full implications of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by studies, discussions, and practical action to implement same in this community and nation.

"2. That every effort be made to make the South, the nation as a whole and the world to know that Christian women of the South oppose any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of Civil Rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland. We call upon the Conferences, districts and local groups to stand up and be counted for human freedom.

"3. That Methodist women work for federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to the peoples of this nation.

"4. Applications to institutions of higher learning in many Southern states are being made by Negro students desiring special training and instruction. Sensing the impracticability of establishing regional schools, the exorbitant and unnecessary expense which would be incurred, the unchristian principle of discrimination which would be perpetuated, we recommend:

That we work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals, regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled.

"5. That we look also to our practices in the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Methodist Church, seeking to remove every barrier that separates members of the family of God in the Methodist Church, and to build a Christian fellowship where ideas, experiences, facilities, and action programs may be shared with freedom on a basis of full participation."

This courageous action on the part of Methodist women is in striking contrast to those Southern governors, senators and representatives who have given voice to hysterical outcries against the Report and against the extension of civil liberties to minority groups.

CHURCH LEADERS.....Cont. from Page 1, Col. 1

"7. *United States' Leadership for Universal Disarmament.* We believe that the United States has not yet reached the maximum of its contribution to the United Nations; and we call for the bold leadership of the United States in promoting plans for universal disarmament through the United Nations, including the universal abolition of peacetime compulsory military training.

"8. *Control Atomic Energy.* We urge fresh efforts to find a basis for the control of atomic energy under the United Nations.

"9. *Resolve Tensions and Build Understanding.* In the spirit of President Truman's assurance that 'our door is still open to Russia,' a statement which we applaud, we urge that negotiations with Russia be re-opened on the initiative of our government, and be kept open, and that this be a continuing process. We would include in these negotiations both governmental and non-governmental groups and urge that we make a fresh start on the highest levels to resolve tensions and build understanding.

"10. *Undergird Peace.* We call upon the churches to undergird this program for peace in confidence that, empowered by God, they will speak with clarity and force to their representatives in Congress in order that our national action may be directed toward the peace of the world."

WASH. ROUND-UP.....Cont. from Page 2, Col. 2

States to join the World Health Organization passed the Senate last summer. The bill now before the House (H.J. Res. 161) sponsored by Rep. Walter Judd, is now bottled up in the Rules Committee. To date 24 nations, including the Soviet Union, have joined WHO. Ratification by 26 nations is required to make the organization a functioning agency. Write Rep. Leo Allen, chairman of the House Rules Committee, and your own Congressman asking that this bill be voted on at this session.

§ *Displaced Persons.* Adjournment is now approaching and thousands of displaced persons are still awaiting action by Congress to permit them to enter this country. In the House the Stratton Bill to permit entry of 400,000 displaced persons may be replaced by the Fellows bill which would limit the number to 200,000. This bill, like the Wiley bill in the Senate, places restrictions on the program that may make it unworkable. Such an apparently innocent restriction as making December 22, 1945 the terminal date for becoming a displaced person would eliminate thousands who fled from Communist-occupied territory. Restriction on type of employment, on housing, and other matters will seriously cripple legislation that otherwise would be a great humanitarian move. The Senate will probably debate this bill the last week in April, with the House following soon thereafter.

RELIEF FRONT.....Cont. from Page 3, Col. 2

and goodwill.

2. Because these gifts supplement government aid by reaching special groups, such as orphans, widows, the ill, and institutions such as hospitals.

3. Because governmental aid is rationed and often the ration does not go around or is insufficient to meet the needs of the undernourished recipient. Christian aid is the "plus" that means the difference between malnutrition and a start on the road to health.

4. Christians of America must hold up the hands of their fellow Christians in war-torn lands. Only the church can purchase such things as Bibles and hymnals, provide training and equipment for Christian leaders, rebuild churches and other religious institutions.

5. Because ERP is devoted primarily toward the long range program of getting national economies in operation and making the recipient-nations self-sustaining. Relief is an immediate and acute need.